

# WILSON SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

Insists That the Whole People  
Be Consulted.

## THE NATION'S AWAKENING.

The Tariff Has Become a System of  
Favors—Should Be Gradually Re-  
duced—High Schedules Responsible  
For Trusts and Cost of Living—Defini-  
tion of Fundamental Democracy.

Mr. James and Gentlemen of the  
Notification Committee—Speaking for  
the national Democratic convention,  
recently assembled at Baltimore, you  
have notified me of my nomination by  
the Democratic party for the high  
office of president of the United States.  
Allow me to thank you very warmly  
for the generous terms in which you  
have, through your distinguished chair-  
man, conveyed the notification and for  
the thoughtful personal courtesy with  
which you have performed your inter-  
esting and important errand.

I accept the nomination with a deep  
sense of its unusual significance and of  
the great honor done me and also with  
a very profound sense of my responsi-  
bility to the party and to the nation.  
You will expect me in accepting the  
honor to speak very plainly the faith  
that is in me. You will expect me, in  
brief, to talk politics and open the cam-  
paign in words whose meaning no one  
need doubt. You will expect me to  
speak to the country.

We cannot intelligently talk politics  
unless we know to whom we are talk-  
ing and in what circumstances. The  
present circumstances are clearly un-  
usual. No previous political campaign  
in our time has disclosed anything like  
them. The audience we address is in  
no ordinary temper. It is no audience  
of partisans. Citizens of every class  
and party and prepossession sit to-  
gether, a single people, to learn whether  
we understand their life and know  
how to afford them the counsel and  
guidance they stand in need of. We must  
speak not to catch votes, but to satisfy  
the thought and conscience of a people  
deeply stirred by the conviction that  
they have come to a critical turning  
point in their moral and political de-  
velopment.

**The Awakened Nation.**  
We stand in the presence of an  
awakened nation, impatient of parti-  
san make believe. The public man  
who does not realize the fact and feel  
its stimulation must be singularly un-  
susceptible to the influences that stir  
in every quarter about him.

Plainly, it is a new age. The tonic  
of such a time is very exhilarating.  
It requires self-restraint not to attempt  
too much, and yet it would be coward-  
ly to attempt too little.

It is in the broad light of this new  
day that we stand face to face—with  
what? Plainly not with questions of  
party, not with a contest for office, not  
with a petty struggle for advantage,  
Democrat against Republican, liberal  
against conservative, progressive against  
reactionary. With great questions of  
right and of justice, rather—questions  
of national development, of the devel-  
opment of character and of standards  
of action no less than of a better busi-  
ness system, more free, more equitable,  
more open to ordinary men, practicable  
to live under, tolerable to work under,  
or a better fiscal system whose taxes  
shall not come out of the pockets of the  
few and within whose intricacies special  
privilege may not so easily find  
cover.

At such a time and in the presence  
of such circumstances what is the mean-  
ing of our platform and what is our  
responsibility under it? What are our  
duty and our purpose? The platform  
is meant to show that we know what  
the nation is thinking about, what it is  
most concerned about, what it wishes  
corrected and what it desires to see at-  
tempted that is new and constructive  
and intended for its long future. But  
for us it is a very practical document.  
We are not about to ask the people of  
the United States to adopt our plat-  
form. We are about to ask them to  
entrust us with office and power and the  
guidance of their affairs. They  
will wish to know what sort of men  
we are and of what definite purpose,  
what translation of action and of policy  
we intend to give to the general  
terms of the platform which the con-  
vention at Baltimore put forth should  
we be elected.

### The Work to Be Done.

The platform is not a program. A  
program must consist of measures, ad-  
ministrative acts and acts of legisla-  
tion. The proof of the pudding is the  
eating thereof. How do we intend to  
make it edible and digestible? From  
this time on we shall be under interro-  
gation. How do we expect to handle  
each of the great matters that must be  
taken up by the next congress and the  
next administration?

What is there to do? It is hard to  
sum the great task up, but apparently  
this is the sum of the matter: There  
are two great things to do. One is to  
set up the rule of justice and of right  
in such matters as the tariff, the regu-  
lation of the trusts and the prevention  
of monopoly, the adaptation of our  
banking and currency laws to the  
varied uses to which our people must  
put them, the treatment of those who  
do the daily labor in our factories and

mines and throughout all our great in-  
dustrial and commercial undertakings,  
and the political life of the people of  
the Philippines, for whom we hold  
governmental power in trust, for their  
service, not our own. The other, the  
additional duty is the great task of  
protecting our people and our resources  
and of keeping open to the whole peo-  
ple the doors of opportunity through  
which they must, generation by genera-  
tion, pass if they are to make con-  
quest of their fortunes in health, in  
freedom, in peace and in contentment.  
In the performance of this second  
great duty we are face to face with  
questions of conservation and of devel-  
opment, questions of forests and  
water powers and mines and water-  
ways, of the building of an adequate  
merchant marine, and the opening of  
every highway and facility, and the  
setting up of every safeguard needed  
by an industrious, expanding nation.

### In Partnership With the People.

These are all great matters upon  
which everybody should be heard. We  
have got into trouble in recent years  
chiefly because these large things,  
which ought to have been handled by  
taking counsel with as large a num-  
ber of persons as possible, because they  
touched every interest and the life of  
every class and region, have in fact  
been too often handled in private  
conference. They have been settled  
by very small and often delib-  
erately exclusive groups of men  
who undertook to speak for the whole  
nation, or, rather, for themselves in  
the terms of the whole nation—very  
honestly it may be, but very ignorantly  
sometimes, and very shortsightedly,  
too—a poor substitute for genuine com-  
mon counsel. No group of directors,  
economic or political, can speak for a  
people. They have neither the point  
of view nor the knowledge. We need no  
revolution; we need no excited change;  
we need only a new point of view and  
a new method and spirit of counsel.

We are servants of the people, the  
whole people. The nation has been  
unnecessarily, unreasonably at war  
within itself. Interest has clashed  
with interest when there were com-  
mon principles of right and of fair  
dealing which might and should have  
bound them all together, not as rivals,  
but as partners. As the servants of  
all we are bound to undertake the  
great duty of accommodation and ad-  
justment.

We cannot undertake it except in a  
spirit which some find it hard to un-  
derstand. Some people only smile  
when you speak of yourself as a servant  
of the people; it seems to them like  
affectation or mere demagoguery. They  
ask what the unthinking crowd  
knows or comprehends of great com-  
plicated matters of government. They  
shrug their shoulders and lift their  
eyebrows when you speak as if you  
really believed in presidential primar-  
ies, in the direct election of United  
States senators and in an utter pub-  
licity about everything that concerns  
government, from the sources of cam-  
paign funds to the intimate debate of  
the highest affairs of state.

### The Public a Noble Whole.

They do not or will not compre-  
hend the solemn thing that is in your  
thought. You know as well as they  
do that there are all sorts and condi-  
tions of men—the unthinking mixed  
with the wise, the reckless with the  
prudent, the unscrupulous with the  
fair and honest—and you know, what  
they sometimes forget, that every  
class, without exception, affords a  
sample of the mixture, the learned and  
the fortunate no less than the unedu-  
cated and the struggling mass. But  
you see more than they do. You see  
that these multitudes of men, mixed,  
of every kind and quality, constitute  
somehow an organic and noble whole,  
a single people, and that they have in-  
terests which no man can privately  
determine without their knowledge  
and counsel. That is the meaning of  
representative government itself.

You may think that I am wandering  
off into a general disquisition that has  
little to do with the business in hand,  
but I am not. This is business—busi-  
ness of the deepest sort. It will solve  
our difficulties if you will but take it  
as business.

### The Tariff.

See how it makes business out of the  
tariff question. The tariff question as  
dealt with in our time at any rate has  
not been business. It has been politics.  
Tariff schedules have been made up  
for the purpose of keeping as large a  
number as possible of the rich and in-  
fluential manufacturers of the country  
in a good humor with the Republican  
party, which desired their constant  
financial support. The tariff has be-  
come a system of favors, which the  
phraseology of the schedule was often  
deliberately contrived to conceal. It  
becomes a matter of business, of legiti-  
mate business, only when the partner-  
ship and understanding it represents  
are between the leaders of congress and  
the whole people of the United States  
instead of between the leaders of con-  
gress and small groups of manufac-  
turers demanding special recognition  
and consideration. That is why the  
general idea of representative govern-  
ment becomes a necessary part of the  
tariff question. Who when you come  
down to the hard facts of the matter  
have been represented in recent years  
when our tariff schedules were being  
discussed and determined not on the  
floor of congress, for that is not where  
they have been determined, but in the  
committee rooms and conferences? That  
is the heart of the whole affair. Will  
you, can you, bring the whole  
people into the partnership or not? No  
one is discontented with representa-  
tive government. It falls under ques-  
tion only when it ceases to be repre-  
sentative. It is at bottom a question of  
good faith and morals.

How does the present tariff look in  
the light of it? I say nothing for the

moment about the policy of protection  
conceived and carried out as a disin-  
terested statesman might conceive it.  
Our own clear conviction as Demo-  
crats is that in the last analysis the  
only safe and legitimate object of tariff  
duties, as of taxes of every other kind,  
is to raise revenue for the support of  
the government. But that is not my  
present point. We denounce the Payne-  
Aldrich tariff act as the most conspicu-  
ous example ever afforded the country  
of the special favors and monopolistic  
advantages which the leaders of the  
Republican party have so often shown  
themselves willing to extend to those  
to whom they looked for campaign con-  
tributions. Tariff duties, as they have  
employed them, have not been a means  
of setting up an equitable system of  
protection. They have been, on the  
contrary, a method of fostering special  
privilege. They have made it easy to  
establish monopoly in our domestic  
markets. Trusts have owed their origi-  
n and their secure power to them.

### No Sudden Disturbance.

We do not ignore the fact that the  
business of a country like ours is ex-  
ceedingly sensitive to changes in legisla-  
tion of this kind. It has been built  
up, however ill advisedly, upon tariff  
schedules written in the way I have  
indicated, and its foundation must  
not be too radically or too suddenly  
disturbed. When we act we should act  
with caution and prudence, like men  
who know what they are about and  
not like those in love with a theory.  
It is obvious that the changes we  
make should be made only at such a  
rate and in such a way as will least  
interfere with the normal and health-  
ful course of commerce and manufac-  
ture. But we shall not on that ac-  
count act with timidity, as if we did  
not know our own minds, for we are  
certain of our ground and of our ob-  
ject. There should be an immediate  
revision, and it should be downward,  
unhesitatingly and steadily downward.

It should begin with the schedules  
which have been most obviously used  
to kill competition and to raise prices  
in the United States, arbitrarily and  
without regard to the prices prevail-  
ing elsewhere in the markets of the  
world, and it should, before it is  
finished or interrupted, be extended to  
every item in every schedule which  
affords any opportunity for monopoly,  
for special advantage to limited  
groups of beneficiaries or for subsid-  
ized control of any kind in the markets  
or the enterprises of the country until  
special favors of every sort shall have  
been absolutely withdrawn and every  
part of our laws of taxation shall have  
been transformed from a system of  
governmental patronage into a system  
of just and reasonable charges which  
shall fall where they will create the  
least burden.

### Tariff Demoralizes Politics.

There has been no more demoraliz-  
ing influence in our politics in our  
time than the influence of tariff legisla-  
tion, the influence of the idea that  
the government was the grand dis-  
penser of favors, the maker and un-  
maker of fortunes, and of opportuni-  
ties such as certain men have sought  
in order to control the movement of  
trade and industry throughout the  
continent. It has made the govern-  
ment a prize to be captured and par-  
ties the means of effecting the capture.  
It has made the business men of one  
of the most virile and enterprising na-  
tions in the world timid, fearful, full  
of alarms; has robbed them of self  
confidence and manly force until they  
have cried out that they could do  
nothing without the assistance of the  
government at Washington. It has  
made them feel that their lives de-  
pended upon the ways and means  
committee of the house and the finance  
committee of the senate (in these later  
years particularly the finance commit-  
tee of the senate). They have insisted  
very anxiously that these commit-  
tees should be made up only of their  
"friends" until the country in its turn  
grew suspicious and wondered how  
those committees were being guided  
and controlled, by what influences and  
plans of personal advantage. Govern-  
ment cannot be wholesomely conduct-  
ed in such an atmosphere. Its very  
honesty is in jeopardy.

For what has the result been?  
Prosperity? Yes, if by prosperity you  
mean vast wealth, no matter how dis-  
tributed, or whether distributed at all,  
or not; if you mean vast enterprises  
built up to be presently concentrated  
under the control of comparatively  
small bodies of men, who can deter-  
mine almost at pleasure whether there  
shall be competition or not. The nation  
as a nation has grown immensely rich.  
But what of the other side of the pic-  
ture? It is not so easy for us to live  
as it used to be. Our money will not  
buy as much. High wages, even  
when we can get them, yield us no  
great comfort.

### Tariff Causes High Prices.

Moreover, we begin to perceive some  
things about the movement of prices  
that concern us very deeply and fix our  
attention upon the tariff schedules with  
a more definite determination than  
ever to get to the bottom of this mat-  
ter. We have been looking into it at  
trials held under the Sherman act and  
in investigations in the committee  
rooms of congress, where men who  
wanted to know the real facts have  
been busy with inquiry, and we begin  
to see very clearly what at least some  
of the methods are by which prices  
are fixed. We know that they are not  
fixed by the competition of the mar-  
ket or by the ancient law of supply and  
demand, which is to be found stated in  
all the primers of economics, but by  
private arrangements with regard to  
what the supply should be and agree-  
ments among the producers themselves.  
Those who buy are not even represent-  
ed by counsel. The high cost of living  
is arranged by private understanding.

We naturally ask ourselves, How did

these gentlemen get control of these  
things? Who handed our economic  
laws over to them for legislative and  
contractual alteration? We have in  
these disclosures still another view of  
the tariff, still another proof that not  
the people of the United States, but  
only a very small number of them,  
have been partners in that legislation.

The trusts do not belong to the peo-  
ple of infant industries. They are not  
the products of the time, that old in-  
famous time, when the great contin-  
ent we live on was undeveloped, the  
young nation struggling to find itself  
and get upon its feet amidst older and  
more experienced competitors. They  
belong to a very recent and very so-  
phisticated age, when men knew what  
they wanted and knew how to get it  
by the favor of the government. It  
is another chapter in the natural his-  
tory of power and of "governing  
classes." The next chapter will set us  
free again.

I am not one of those who think  
that competition can be established by  
law against the drift of a world wide  
economic tendency; neither am I one  
of those who believe that business  
done upon a great scale by a single  
organization—call it corporation or  
what you will—is necessarily danger-  
ous to the liberties, even the economic  
liberties, of a great people like our  
own, full of intelligence and of in-  
domitable energy. I am not afraid of  
anything that is normal. I dare say  
we shall never return to the old order  
of individual competition and that the  
organization of business upon a great  
scale of co-operation is, up to a certain  
point, itself normal and inevitable.

### Sherman Law Amendments.

Power in the hands of great busi-  
ness men does not make me apprehen-  
sive, unless it springs out of ad-  
vantages which they have not created  
for themselves. Big business is not  
dangerous because it is big, but be-  
cause its bigness is an unwholesome  
inflation created by privileges and ex-  
emptions which it ought not to enjoy.  
The general terms of the present  
federal anti-trust law, forbidding  
"combinations in restraint of trade,"  
have apparently proved ineffectual.  
Trusts have grown up under its  
very luxuriantly and have pursued  
the methods by which so many of  
them have established virtual monop-  
olies without serious let or hindrance.  
It has roared against them like any  
sucking dove. I am not assessing the  
responsibility; I am merely stating the  
fact. But the means and methods by  
which trusts have established monop-  
olies have now become known. It will  
be necessary to supplement the pres-  
ent law with such laws, both civil and  
criminal, as will effectually punish and  
prevent those methods, adding such  
other laws as may be necessary to  
provide suitable and adequate judicial  
processes, whether civil or criminal,  
to disclose them and follow them to  
final verdict and judgment.

But the problem and the difficulty  
are much greater than that. There  
are not merely great trusts and com-  
binations which are to be controlled  
and deprived of their power to create  
monopolies and destroy rivals. There  
is something bigger still than they are  
and more subtle, more evasive, more  
difficult to deal with. There are vast  
conglomerates (as I may perhaps call  
them for the sake of convenience) of  
banks, railways, express companies,  
insurance companies, manufacturing  
corporations, mining corporations,  
power and development companies  
and all the rest of the circle, bound  
together by the fact that the owner-  
ship of their stock and the members of  
their boards of directors are controlled  
and determined by comparatively  
small and closely interrelated groups  
of persons who, by their informal  
confederacy, may control, if they please  
and when they will, both credit and  
enterprise. They are part of our prob-  
lem. Their very existence gives rise  
to the suspicion of a "money trust," a  
concentration of the control of credit  
which may at any time become in-  
finitely dangerous to free enterprise.  
If such a concentration and control  
do not actually exist it is evident  
that they can easily be set up and used  
at will. Laws must be devised which  
will prevent this, if laws can be work-  
ed out by fair and free counsel that  
will accomplish that result without  
destroying or seriously embarrassing  
any sound or legitimate business un-  
dertaking or necessary and wholesome  
arrangement.

### The Labor Question.

Let me say again that what we are  
seeking is not destruction of any kind  
nor the disruption of any sound or hon-  
est thing, but merely the rule of right  
and of the common advantage. I am  
happy to say that a new spirit has be-  
gun to show itself in the last year or  
two among influential men of business  
and, what is perhaps even more signifi-  
cant, among the lawyers who are their  
expert advisers and that this spirit has  
displayed itself very notably in the last  
few months in an effort to return in  
some degree at any rate to the prac-  
tices of genuine competition.

If I am right about this, it is going  
to be easier to act in accordance with  
the rule of right and justice in deal-  
ing with the labor question. The so-  
called labor question is a question only  
because we have not yet found the  
rule of right in adjusting the inter-  
ests of labor and capital. The welfare,  
the happiness, the energy and spirit  
of the men and women who do the  
daily work in our mines and factories,  
on our railroads, in our offices and  
marts of trade, on our farms and on  
the sea, are of the essence of our na-  
tional life. There can be nothing  
wholesome unless their life is whole-  
some; there can be no contentment un-  
less they are contented. Their phys-  
ical welfare affects the soundness of  
the whole nation. We shall never get  
very far in the settlement of these

vital matters so long as we regard  
everything done for the workingman,  
by law or by private agreement, as a  
concession yielded to keep him from  
agitation and a disturbance of our  
peace. Here again the sense of uni-  
versal partnership must come into  
play if we are to act like statesmen,  
as those who serve not a class, but a  
nation.

The working people of America—if  
they must be distinguished from the  
minority that constitutes the rest of  
it—are, of course, the backbone of the  
nation. No law that safeguards their  
life, that improves the physical and  
moral conditions under which they  
live, that makes their hours of labor  
rational and tolerable, that gives  
them freedom to act in their own in-  
terest and that protects them where  
they cannot protect themselves can  
properly be regarded as class legisla-  
tion or as anything but as a measure  
taken in the interest of the whole  
people, whose partnership in right ac-  
tion we are trying to establish and  
make real and practical. It is in this  
spirit that we shall act if we are gen-  
uine spokesmen of the whole country.

### Currency Laws.

As our program is disclosed—for no  
man can forecast it readily made and  
before counsel is taken of every one  
concerned—this must be its measure  
and standard, the interest of all con-  
cerned. For example, in dealing with  
the complicated and difficult question  
of the reform of our banking and cur-  
rency laws it is plain that we ought  
to consult very many persons besides  
the bankers, not because we distrust  
the bankers, but because they do not  
necessarily comprehend the business  
of the country, notwithstanding they  
are indispensable servants of it and  
may do a vast deal to make it hard or  
easy. No mere bankers' plan will  
meet the requirements, no matter how  
honestly conceived. It should be a  
merchants and farmers' plan as well,  
elastic in the hands of those who use  
it as an indispensable part of their  
daily business.

In dealing with the Philippines we  
should not allow ourselves to stand  
upon any mere point of pride as if, in  
order to keep our countenance in the  
families of nations, it were necessary  
for us to make the same blunders of  
selfishness that other nations have  
made. We are not the owners of the  
Philippine Islands. We hold them in  
trust for the people who live in them.  
They are theirs for the uses of their  
life. We are not even their partners.  
It is our duty as trustees to make  
whatever arrangement of government  
will be most serviceable to their free-  
dom and development. Here again we  
are to set up the rule of justice and of  
right.

### Presidential Primaries.

The rule of the people is no idle  
phrase. Those who believe in it—as  
who does not that has caught the real  
spirit of America?—believe that there  
can be no rule of right without it;  
that right in politics is made up of  
the interests of everybody, and every-  
body should take part in the action  
that is to determine it. We have been  
keen for presidential primaries and  
the direct election of United States  
senators because we wanted the ac-  
tion of the government to be deter-  
mined by persons whom the people had  
actually designated as men whom they  
were ready to trust and follow. We  
have been anxious that all campaign  
contributions and expenditures should  
be disclosed to the public in fullest  
detail because we regarded the influ-  
ences which govern campaigns to be  
as much a part of the people's busi-  
ness as anything else connected with  
their government. We are working  
toward a very definite object, the uni-  
versal partnership in public affairs  
upon which the purity of politics and  
its aim and spirit depend.

I do not know any greater question  
than that of conservation. We have  
been a spendthrift nation and must  
now husband what we have left. We  
must do more than that. We must de-  
velop as well as preserve our water  
powers and must add great waterways  
to the transportation facilities of the  
nation to supplement the railways  
within our borders as well as upon the  
isthmus. We must revive our mer-  
chant marine, too, and fill the seas  
again with our own fleets. We must  
add to our present postoffice service a  
parcel post as complete as that of any  
other nation. We must look to the  
health of our people upon every hand  
as well as hearten them with justice  
and opportunity. This is the construc-  
tive work of government. This is the  
policy that has a vision and a hope and  
that looks to serve mankind.

There are many sides to these great  
matters. Conservation is easy to gen-  
eralize about, but hard to particularize  
about wisely. Reservation is not the  
whole of conservation. The develop-  
ment of great states must not be stay-  
ed indefinitely to await a policy by  
which our forests and water powers  
can prudently be made use of. Use  
and development must go hand in  
hand. The policy we adopt must be  
progressive—not negative merely, as if  
we did not know what to do.

### Improving Our Rivers.

With regard to the development of  
greater and more numerous waterways  
and the building up of a merchant ma-  
rine, we must follow great constructive  
lines and not fall back upon the cheap  
device of bounties and subsidies. In  
the case of the Mississippi river, that  
great central artery of our trade, it is  
plain that the federal government must  
build and maintain the levees and keep  
the great waters in harness for the  
general use.

The question of a merchant marine  
turns back to the tariff again, to which  
all roads seem to lead, and to our reg-  
istry laws, which, if coupled with the  
tariff, might almost be supposed to  
have been intended to take the Ameri-

can flag off the seas. Levees are not  
necessary if you will but undo some  
of the things that have been done.  
Without a great merchant marine we  
cannot take our rightful place in the  
commerce of the world. Merchants  
who must depend upon the carriers of  
rival mercantile nations to carry their  
goods to market are at a disadvantage  
in international trade too manifest to  
need to be pointed out, and our mer-  
chants will not long suffer themselves  
—ought not to suffer themselves—to  
be placed at such a disadvantage. Our  
industries have expanded to such a  
point that they will burst their jackets  
if they cannot find a free outlet to the  
markets of the world, and they cannot  
find such an outlet unless they be  
given ships of their own to carry their  
goods—ships that will go the routes  
they want them to go—and pre-  
serve the interests of America in their sailing  
orders and their equipment. Our do-  
mestic markets no longer suffice. We  
need foreign markets. That is an-  
other force that is going to break the  
tariff down. The tariff was once a  
bulwark; now it is a dam. For trade  
is reciprocal; we cannot sell unless we  
also buy.

The very fact that we have at last  
taken the Panama canal seriously in  
hand and are vigorously pushing it to-  
ward completion is eloquent of our re-  
awakened interest in international  
trade. We are not building the canal  
and pouring out millions upon millions  
of money upon its construction merely to  
establish a water connection between  
the two coasts of the continent, im-  
portant and desirable as that may be,  
particularly from the point of view  
of naval defense. It is meant to be a  
great international highway. It would  
be a little ridiculous if we should build  
it and then have no ships to send  
through it. There have been years  
when not a single ton of freight passed  
through the great Suez canal in an  
American bottom, so empty are the  
seas of our ships and seamen.

### Industrial Education.

There is another duty which the  
Democratic party has shown itself  
great enough and close enough to the  
people to perceive, the duty of govern-  
ment to share in promoting agricul-  
tural, industrial, vocational education  
in every way possible within its con-  
stitutional powers. No other platform  
has given this intimate vision of a party's  
duty. Education is part of the  
great task of conservation, part of  
the task of renewal and of perfected  
power.

We have set ourselves a great pro-  
gram, and it will be a great party that  
carries it out. It must be a party with-  
out entangling alliances with any spe-  
cial interest whatever. It must have  
the spirit and the point of view of the  
new age. Men are turning away from  
the Republican party as organized un-  
der its old leaders because they found  
that it was not free, that it was entan-  
gled, and they are turning to us be-  
cause they deem us free to serve them.

We should go into this campaign  
confident of only one thing—confident  
of what we want to do if entrusted  
with the government. It is not a parti-  
san fight we are entering upon. We  
are happily excused from personal at-  
tacks upon opponents and from all gen-  
eral indictments against the men op-  
posed to us. The facts are patent to  
everybody; we do not have to prove  
them; the more frank among our op-  
ponents admit them. Our thinking must  
be constructive from start to finish.  
We must show that we understand the  
problems that confront us and that we  
are soberly minded to deal with them,  
applying to them not nostrums and no-  
tions, but hard sense and good courage.

### A Government For Public Good.

A presidential campaign may easily  
degenerate into a mere personal con-  
test and so lose its real dignity and  
significance. There is no indispensa-  
ble man. The government will not  
collapse and go to pieces if any one  
of the gentlemen who are seeking to  
be entrusted with its guidance should  
be left at home. But men are instru-  
ments. We are as important as the  
cause we represent, and in order to  
be important must really represent a  
cause. What is our cause? The peo-  
ple's cause? That is easy to say, but  
what does it mean? The common as-  
sessment against any particular interest  
whatever? Yes, but that, too, needs transla-  
tion into acts and policies. We rep-  
resent the desire to set up an unen-  
tagled government, a government that  
cannot be used for private purposes,  
either in the field of business or in  
the field of politics; a government that  
will not tolerate the use of the organi-  
zation of a great party to serve the  
personal aims and ambitions of any  
individual and that will not permit  
legislation to be employed to further  
any private interest. It is a great con-  
ception, but I am free to serve it, as  
you also are. I could not have ac-  
cepted a nomination which left me  
bound to any man or any group of  
men. No man can be just who is not  
free, and no man who has to show  
favors ought to undertake the solemn  
responsibility of government in any  
rank or post whatever, least of all in  
the supreme post of president of the  
United States.

To be free is not necessarily to be  
wise. But wisdom comes with coun-  
sel, with the frank and free confer-  
ence of untrammelled men united in  
the common interest. Should I be  
entrusted with the great office of presi-  
dent I would seek counsel wherever  
it could be had upon free terms. I  
know the temper of the great con-  
vention which nominated me; I know  
the temper of the country that lay back  
of that convention and spoke through  
it. I heed with deep thankfulness the  
message you bring me from it. I feel  
that I am surrounded by men whose  
principles and ambitions are those of  
true servants of the people. I thank  
God and will take courage.